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mon all the freeholders and the other tenants of the country to appear before him ; and they came before him, and he showed them his Charter, and the Letter Patent of the Lord Edward commanding them to be obedient and answerable to his orders, and to do him fealty as their Lord. And thus, by his own authority, without Justiciary, or Sheriff, or Chief Serjeant, he entered into seisin of the aforesaid lands ; and so died seized of the aforesaid land and tenements. And they say that the said John used to offer his rent of the lands aforesaid every term to the Barons of the Exchequer at Dublin, who would not receive the said rent from him because he had never had seisin from the said Justiciary or other bailiffs of the Lord Edward in Ireland, and because the said Lord Edward was deceived. And they do not know any other right that the Lord Edward had in the aforesaid lands than is aforesaid. And they say that, for that reason, Richard de Rokel, then Justiciary of Ireland, seized all the aforesaid lands and tenements of Ardneshlach, together with all the other lands and tenements of Desies and Desmond, into the hand of the Lord Edward. And they say upon their oath that the aforesaid Jeffry de Prendergast has such right to the aforesaid lands and tenements of Ardneshlach, as brother and next heir of John aforesaid, and this by reason of the feoffment of the said John fitz Thomas.

“[Endorsement].—It seems that this man ought to be restored, saving the right of the king and every one else, and let the king proceed against him, that he may have his recovery against his feoffor ; and when restored, let him answer without essoin, &c.”

## A NOTICE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF LONDONDERRY BY THE ENGLISH, &c.

BY ARTHUR GERALD 'GEOGHEGAN.

*(Continued from page 404).*

INNISOWEN lies in the north-eastern side of the county of Donegal. It is almost insulated, being bounded on the east, west, and north by Lough Foyle, Lough Swilly, and the Atlantic. Its present name dates from the fifth century, when Nial of the Nine Hostages, Monarch of Ireland, assigned this tract of country to his son Eogain, or Owen, hence *Inip Eógain*, Innisowen, or the Island of Owen. Its more ancient appellations of *Peapann Neib*, or the land of Neid, and *Čip Čibž*, or the Country of Aileach, date from a remoter age, and are derived from names of princes of that mysterious people, the Tuatha de Danaan, who at an early period landed and settled here. That Innisowen at that period, and even in the fifth century, was in reality an island, is probable: a glance at the unchanging sweep of bog and marsh which separate it on the southern side from Loughs Foyle and Swilly, a distance of little more than three

miles, will satisfy on this point even a careless observer. It is now, however, a large promontory, containing 197,860 acres of mountain, arable, and waste land, bounded on its edges and intersected with lofty and barren hills, whose crests are constantly wet with the clouds and mists of the Atlantic. The highest of this range, Slieve Snaght (the Hill of Snow), has an altitude of 2019 feet.<sup>1</sup> Yet, strange to say, there are neither lakes nor rivers of any extent in Innisowen. Loch Lappan and Loch Fad are little more than mountain tarns, and throughout the barony there is no stream of depth or constant flow. Their courses from the central watershed of Slieve Snaght tend east, west, and north, but are invariably shallow. A thousand rills, it is true, rush down on every side from the hills, and are swollen at times by the constant rains into impetuous torrents and waterfalls; but in summer they shrink into mere threads, or disappear altogether from their dried-up beds. The climate is moist, and not severe: at Moville, a watering place, it is especially mild; the soil generally sterile, the interior of the sea coast wild and barren, affording in some places scanty pasturing to the mountain cattle, and in others but shallow depth for cereal crops. Barley, oats, flax, and of course potatoes, are grown in detached localities, and in favoured spots green crops of turnip and mangel wortzel are to be met with. Scattered through the district are evidences of minerals, and the coasts swarm with fish. The scenery along the sea line is bold and precipitous, the headlands steep and rocky; while the noble expanse of Lough Foyle and its twin sister Lough Swilly, with the varied outline of its hills, give to Innisowen a romantic aspect. The mountain pass of the Gap of Mamore is fine; and the long sweep and gloomy hollows of Glen Togher and Glen Ailey are marked with a desolate character, while the northern seaboard that stretches from Dunaff to Malin Head, and thence by Culdaff to Moville, worn into striking and picturesque shapes, forms a fitting rampart against the ceaseless dashings of the Atlantic.

Up to a recent period the name of Innisowen was identified with a kind of illicit whiskey, made in large quantities in its secret glens and hiding places; but the opening of new roads through the barony, enabling the peasant to bring the produce of his mountain patch of land to market, the increased communication by steamers from Derry to Liverpool and Glasgow, where there are always ready sales for cattle, fish, poultry, and eggs, the exertions of the constabulary, and the influences of education through the National Schools on the rising generation, have all tended to lessen this demoralizing occupation, and to afford a healthier and more

<sup>1</sup> *Mons Nivorum*, as it called by Colgan, who was born at its foot.

profitable investment for the labours and the harvest produce of the farmers of Innisowen—agencies which will be doubtless increased by the fact, that at this moment one railroad runs through part of Innisowen, and the certainty that in a few months another will be opened through it. In connexion with this latter railway, the Derry and Lough Swilly line, we may be permitted to observe that its course along the eastern shore of Lough Swilly to Buncrana may challenge any line in the kingdom to exhibit a more striking panorama of lake and mountain scenery.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Innisowen had been the patrimony of the O'Doherties, a branch of the Kinel Connell, or O'Donnells. Previous to this it was in the possession of the great rival house of Kinel Owen, or O'Neill. The claims of these two dynasties to the suzerainship of Innisowen frequently placed the chieftains of the O'Doherties in awkward positions—at one time paying tribute to the princes of Tyrconnell, and at another to the princes of Tyrone, as the star of either was in the ascendant. So far back as A. D. 1586, in a state paper written by Marshal Bagenall, for the information of Lord Burleigh, then prime minister of England, we find that Innisowen is described thus:—

“O'Doyherties Country is a promontory almost environed with the sea, namely, with Lough Swylie to the south side, and Lough Foyle to the north[!] It is governed by a Capten called O'Doyhertie, who beinge not of power to defend himsilfe, is forced to contribute to both O'Neyle and O'Donell, and (*alterius vicibus*) to serve them both. His country, being open to the sea, and open to the Isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, *is almost yearlie invaded by the Scots, who take the spoil, whereby O'Dohertie is forced always to be at their devociions!* He is able of his own nation and other followers to make 60 horsemen and 300 footemen. Buildings in his counterie are at *The Derry*, which is defaced, and Greencastle, and [another place which is illegible, probably Buncrana] which is wardable.”

In the valuable notice of this state paper, by Mr. Herbert F. Hore, in “The Ulster Journal of Archæology” for the year 1854, Mr. Hore remarks that “the Four Masters state that it was in this new castle of Innisowen (Greencastle), that Walter Bourke was imprisoned by the young Earl of Ulster, in Anno 1332, and where he afterwards died of hunger.” Dissenting from this, Mr. Hore places the prison of the unfortunate De Burgo further south than Innisowen. Yet we are inclined to think that the opinion of the Annalists is correct; and that some indistinct tradition of this event gave rise to the ghastly figure on the Derry coat of arms, as well as to the statement that Sir Cahir O'Doherty perished by a similar doom at the castle of Buncrana. It is evident that there was floating through the barony for a length of time a tradition of some person of rank perishing by this cruel

death, when a prisoner in a dungeon within its limits. The Annalists, natives of the same county, and residing therein, were well acquainted with its localities and traditions, and therefore in recording this statement afford a strong evidence of its credibility. The attitude, moreover, of the skeleton on the Derry shield, resting its head on its hand, with the elbow of the arm on the knee, is evidently intended to pourtray weariness and suffering, and, seen in connexion with the tower in the back ground, is almost painfully suggestive of the truth of the tradition. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the square tower of Buncrana, yet standing, where an arm of the sea forces its way through a narrow rocky glen, on the stone lintel of its doorway leading to the lowest part of the building there are traces of a rude representation of a Spanish hat and upright plume, which the peasantry assert are intended to mark the stature of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, who was the tallest man of his tribe, as well as to point out the very dungeon in which he was imprisoned, and where he perished of hunger.

From the year 1413, when the O'Doherty was first called *Lord of Innisowen*, to the year 1588, when Sir John O'Doherty was head of the sept, there is little variety in the history of its chiefs. They lived the lives of Celtic potentates in their castles of Inch, Elagh, Burt, Buncrana, and Greencastle, hunted the red deer through the woods of Coshquin and Glentogher, speared the salmon in the Fahan and the Foyle, battled with their kinsmen, plundered the cattle of their neighbours, and were plundered in turn by them and the pirates of the Hebrides, and died more frequently with swords in their hands than in their beds.

In the last-mentioned year, a portion of the Spanish Armada was driven by stress of weather to the shores of Ireland; and seventeen ships, containing 5394 men, were wrecked in various places on the coasts of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. Numbers of their shipwrecked soldiers and mariners were taken prisoners. In Munster some, according to Smith, in his "History of Kerry," were forthwith hanged and beheaded, by order of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam; but it is satisfactory to find, on the other hand, that in Ulster many more had their lives spared, and were treated as prisoners of war. In the Harleian Tracts we have an account of a ship of the Armada wrecked on the shores of Lough Foyle, with a crew of 1100 men, who were made prisoners by Captains Richard and Henry Hovenden, at the castle of Elagh, in O'Doherty's County, and who were conveyed, with "the aid of O'Donill," to Dungannon. The English officers, with a humanity that does them credit, wrote from thence to Dublin "for assistance and the levying of horses and garrons to convey the prisoners, who were weak and sicklie," to head-quarters. The original letter, dated xiiij of September, 1588, is preserved in the State Paper Office.

In other places on the coast the shipwrecked sailors and soldiers were hospitably received, and kindly treated by the Irish chieftains. The Spanish ships contained large quantities of treasure in specie, and some portion of it was stated to have fallen into the hands of the native clans. Exaggerated accounts of this circumstance reached the ears of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, in Dublin; and, according to Cox, who occasionally blurts out some strange truths, Sir William, "*wishing to have a finger in the pie,*" went to Ulster to look after it, raising an army at a heavy expense for the purpose. He was unsuccessful in getting the treasure that he expected—

"Whereupon [adds Cox, in his "*Hibernia Anglicana*"], he grew so enraged, that he imprisoned Sir Owen O'Toole and Doyherty of Donegal, *both of whom were well affected to the State*: the former he kept imprisoned during his time, and the other he detained two years, until he was forced to purchase his discharge."

The character of Sir William Fitzwilliam, during the seven years he filled the office of Lord Deputy in Ireland, is stamped with an unenviable notoriety. Accepting the appointment, as Cox distinctly states, "*to make his profit of it,*" he carried out the intention with a consistency that was as shameless as it was reprehensible. Lowering the dignity of his high office, he received bribes alike from English adventurers and from Irish chieftains. In his hands the sacred vessels of the ark of the British constitution were applied to the meanest uses, until at last that noblest of human institutions, trial by jury, which the poorest peasant on English soil looks on as a protector and a friend, became, through the vile practices of Sir William Fitzwilliam, so hateful to the unfortunate natives of Ireland, as to be regarded by them with mingled feelings of dread and aversion. The conduct of the Lord Deputy towards Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, chieftain of Monaghan, in this respect was so infamous, that Cox and Moryson, neither of them afflicted with a very tender conscience in such matters, are so ashamed of it, that they do not attempt by an apology to palliate its atrocity.

It can be readily surmised that the individual who could be guilty of such conduct would have but little hesitation in imprisoning on a frivolous pretence an innocent man, if by doing so he could put one rose noble the more into his capacious pouch. It is admitted on all sides that Sir John O'Doherty was well affected towards the State, yet he was for two years confined in the Tower of Dublin, and obtained his release from thence at the expiration of that period only by payment of a heavy fine. That previous to his incarceration the Irish chieftain was a loyal subject, has never been denied; and we have further collateral proof, that even after he

regained his liberty he refrained from joining his countrymen in arms against the English Government, in the fact mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," that in the year 1592, when the various branches of the Kinel Connell were summoned to Kilmacrennan, to the inauguration on the Rock of Doon of young Hugh Roe as The O'Donnell, among the Tirconnellans who refused to obey the call, the learned O'Clerys, with a tone of pique notice, by his Irish appellation, Sir John O'Doherty. Not only did he not attend himself the gathering of the tribes on that occasion, but also a number of the Mac Sweeneys, dwelling on the banks of the Foyle, and of the O'Gallaghers (a junior branch of the O'Doherties), influenced by his example, stopped away likewise; nor until the latter end of the same year, when O'Donnell met the Deputy at Dundalk, and made peace with him, did Sir John O'Doherty acknowledge Hugh Roe as the head of his house.

"Then[somewhat exultingly write the Four Masters], when those Tirconnellans who were in opposition to O'Donnell heard of his having made peace with the Lord Justice, they all came in peace and friendship to him. The most eminent of them were Hugh the son of Hugh Duv, Niall Garv the son of Con, and his brethren; and O'Doherty, namely, John Oge, the son of John, the son of Felim, the son of Connor Carragh, after he had been taken prisoner by him."

At what period after this meeting Sir John O'Doherty became the ally of O'Donnell, we have no exact record. We incidentally learn from a remarkable combat between Phelim Reagh, chief of the Mac Davitts, a branch of the O'Doherties, and Captain Martin, nephew of Sir George Bingham, at Sligo, in the year 1595, in which the English officer was slain, that the mountaineers of Innisowen were enrolled in the army which Hugh Roe O'Donnell led, along with 600 Scottish mercenaries, under MacLeod of Arran, into Connaught, in that year. From 1595 to 1599 we find no mention of the O'Doherties in any of the engagements which took place between the English and Irish forces. In the year 1600 we have seen that Sir John O'Doherty, on the landing of the English at Culmore, after partially dismantling his castle of Elagh, withdrew from Innisowen, causing his people to drive their cattle before them for safety into the wilds of Donegal. In the September of 1600 the same chieftain was with Neal Garv, in command of the army of observation left by Hugh O'Donnell to watch the English garrisons on the Foyle. Unlike the kinsman of O'Donnell, Sir John O'Doherty was true to his trust, and died fighting against the clan Derry. From the narrative of Sir Henry Docwra, it would appear that the chieftain of Innisowen, despite the harsh treatment he had received from the English, was suspected by the

Irish leaders of being "well disposed" towards the foreigners, and that in consequence Hugh Roe O'Donnell had previously caused Sir John's only son, Cahir, a mere boy, to be placed in his hands as a pledge for his father's fidelity.

On Sir John's death, his son still remained with O'Donnell; and that chieftain named Phelim Oge, brother to the slain knight, and uncle to the lad, as head of the sept, and declared him The O'Doherty. We do not see, under the circumstances, how the Irish commander could have acted otherwise. The clans of Innisowen were in arms against the English, and required a leader of experience to head them in the field. It was manifest that a lad of some thirteen years was unequal to the position. In passing him, therefore, over, and naming his next of kin as chieftain of Innisowen, the Prince of Tyrconnell had acted as every wise and prudent general would have acted, and had made a selection, it might be supposed, that no reasonable man in the Triohead Cead of the O'Doherties could with justice object to. But the orphan lad had been nursed and reared by the clan MacDavitt; and the leading men of the tribe, Hugh Boye and Phelim Reagh, were his foster brothers. To them the nomination of Phelim Oge as The O'Doherty was a grievous injury, as depriving their young foster relative of his hereditary rights. All reasons of policy, all arguments that common sense and sound judgment pointed out for the selection, were disregarded; and the sole idea that possessed their minds was that by it a wrong had been done to him whose interests and welfare were dearer to them than their own lives, or the lives of all their clan.

Of the intense affection which fosterage created among the ancient Irish we have in modern times no adequate conception. With them the tie was sacred, uniting the child of the chief with the child of the vassal by a link that no difference in their social positions in after life could loosen. Beyond the Pale it was confined to no one class of society, and was restricted by no distinction of rank or blood. From the Ard-Riagh to the wood-Kerne, from the earl to the horseboy, it influenced alike the passionate Celtic and the proud Anglo-Hibernian race. Compared with it, strange to say, the natural affection of a mother for her own offspring grew weak; the foster child became first in her love, and in the moment of danger it was the foster child that she clasped closest to her breast. Stronger than the voice of religion, it made fierce foes become true friends, and, above all oaths and covenants, was a guarantee for fidelity and good faith. Brothers by birth might part in anger, and foul words and evil deeds spring up to widen the breach between them, until they would grow up worse than strangers to each other, live in bitterness, and go down to separate graves, disunited and unforgiving; but the affection that bound foster brothers to each other



had seldom such an unworthy element within it. Its love no coldness could affect, no change could alter; through misfortune, through peril, through poverty, through sorrow and through sickness, it remained until death unchanging and undiminished, wonderful alike in its existence, its endurance, and its devotion. There are many instances of this glorious old Irish feeling scattered through the pages of our country's history. Of those not the least remarkable is supplied in the very narrative to which we have referred so often. To us this particular instance appears the more striking, from the plain and unaffected language in which it is told by the English knight. After describing a plot on the part of the Irish to obtain possession of the fort of Cúlmore, and a counterplot on the part of the English to baffle them,—in which transaction we find that Yorkshire shrewdness was more than a match for native craft,—Sir Henry Docwra goes on, after alluding to the death of Sir John O'Doherty, thus—

“It is true O'Donnell had at our first coming ceazed his sonne, afterwards called Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, into his hands, and kepte him as a pledge upon him, which might justly serve for some colour of excuse, that he (Sir John) was not at libertie to use the freedom of his own will. *Being now deade O'Donnell set up in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the sonne who had been bred and fostred by the said Hugh Boye and Phelim Reaugh. These men tooke it as the highest injury that could be done to them that their foster-child should be deprived of that which they thought was his cleere and undoubtible right, & thereupon seriously addressed themselves unto mee, and made offer, that in case I would maintaine the sonne against the uncle, & procure he might hold the counterey, according to the same lettres his father had it before him, they would worke the meanes to free him out of O'Donnell's hands, to bring home the people and cattle that were fled, and with them, together with themselves, yeald obedience & service to the state.*”

After many meetings and messages, the Governor of Derry entered into the compact proposed by the foster brothers of the young O'Dohertie. He granted all they required, and distinctly engaged to have the territory which had belonged to Sir John O'Dohertie restored to his son. This agreement he had further “*confirmed by my Lord Deputie and Council.*” This is an important fact, and one that it is necessary to keep clearly in view, as having a powerful influence on the subsequent events.

According to the agreement, the young O'Dohertie, having obtained his liberty from O'Donnell, came with his faithful foster-brothers, Hugh Boy, Phelim Reagh, Edward Groome (Grumach), and Shane Cron, as a body guard, and attended by the clans Ailin and Davitt, down from the Innisowen hills, and was placed under the protection of the English governor. A strange meeting this in the great hall of the castle of Derry, in the close of the autumn of the year of grace 1600. We can imagine the stone-roofed apart-

ment, with its massive oaken and iron-clenched door, its narrow casements affording glimpses of the smooth-flowing Foyle, and the birch woods on the opposite slopes in the O'Cahan's Country, and giving ingress to the glints of sunlight that fall on the group within. In the foreground the fosterers, tall in stature, and men of tried courage, with the free bearing of mountaineers, their cloaks of frieze of that peculiar blue tint which, even unto the present day, is worn in Donegal, contrasting well with their saffron-coloured tunics. In their centre, dressed in the sable garb, which tells of his recent loss, the young chieftain of Innisowen. Tall for his age, with his fair hair falling in curls on his shoulders, holding in one hand a favourite deerhound by the leash, while the other, with a gesture half proud and half shy, is extended towards the English governor. We can imagine the glance of anxious affection with which the faithful and noble-looking Phelim Reagh<sup>1</sup> takes the outstretched hand of the lad, and places it in the extended hand of the stalwart knight, whose stern features are softened with a feeling of pity towards the orphan thus placed under his care. At the doorway, a cluster of the kerns of the clans Ailin and Davitt, noting with eyes flashing through their long locks every motion of the guard of soldiers of the clan Derry, who, clad in buff coats and breastplates, stand at the opposite end of the room, their figures half in shadow and half revealed to the light reflected on their armour. Surely such a scene as this is worthy of the attention of an Irish artist.

It is satisfactory to find that both by the true-hearted fosterers and by Sir Henry Docwra their mutual agreement was strictly kept; while on the one hand the clans of Innisowen took their leave of O'Donnell, and

*“Declared themselves for our side, and from that day forward wee had many faithfull and singular good services from them, theire churles & garrans assisting us with carriages, their cattle, with plenty of fishe meate, and Hugh Boye and Phelim Reagh with many intelligence & other helps; without all which, I must freely confess a truth, it had been utterlie impossible wee could have made that sure and speedie progress in the warres that wee afterwards did—”*

on the other hand, Sir Henry, as far as was in his power, and as long as he had the power, performed his part in a faithful and honourable manner. He at once proclaimed the young chief the Queen's O'Dohertie, and by his exertions had his patrimony restored to him, under the great seal of England, “with the exception of the quarter of Ballyarnett, the half-quarter of Laharden, on which the said castle of Coolmore is built, together with three hundred acres of land, to the said castle allotted and apperteyninge, only excepted.” This was necessary for the security of the fort at

<sup>1</sup> O'Sullivan describes Phelim Reagh as “Elegans staturâ facieque pulcher.”

Coolmore<sup>1</sup>, which commanded the passage of the River Foyle, and was in reality the watergate of Derry. He also took the lad under his personal protection in Derry, and appears to have had him educated there in a manner suitable to his rank.

In the "Ulster Journal of Archæology" for the year 1854 there is a series of autographs of remarkable men connected with Ireland, copied from the State Papers. Among those signatures we find the name of "*Cahir O'Dogherty*," fairly and boldly written, with an amount of flourishing after the final letter that proves him to have been (for the period) an accomplished penman. There are allusions throughout the narrative, which we will notice hereafter, respecting both Sir Cahir and the fosterers, which show how highly Sir Henry esteemed them; in fact, the knight, stern as he was, appears to have felt a warm affection for the gallant and high-spirited boy committed so frankly to his care, and to whom he stood in the light of a parent and a protector. In a political point of view, it was also clearly the duty of the Governor of Derry to befriend the young chieftain. Their common foe was the same. By identifying the interests of the heir of Innisowen with those of the English Government, the commander of the army of the Foyle would not only deprive the Irish enemy of a powerful ally, but would likewise remove from the gates of Derry a host of fierce and vigilant adversaries. No longer would its ramparts be watched outside day and night by the keen eyes of the Innisowen clans, awaiting but an unguarded moment for an assault. Of the constant dread the English forces were kept in of this an idea may be formed by the admission of Sir Henry Docwra himself, "that there was not a night wherein myself and captains did not sit up expecting such attempt." But this state of things was now at an end: the castle was the home of the O'Dohertie, and the Governor his guardian and friend. The garrison might henceforth rest in safety; provisions would be brought freely to its gates; and no attack could be made on its walls without timely notice being given of the approach of the danger by the faithful followers who watched around the dwelling, beneath the shadow of whose roof the young head of their chief rested; every reason, therefore, of his sagacious mind, and all the better feelings of his honest though stern nature, combined to make Sir Henry Docwra treat his ward with kindness.

That he did so, there are many proofs; not the least significant

<sup>1</sup> The fort of Culmore and the 300 acres attached remained in the possession of the Government from the year 1600 to the year 1861. During the whole of this period the Crown never ceased to maintain the office of Governor of Culmore Fort; and for a long series of

years the appointment was conferred on military men, as a reward for distinguished services. The last governor was Lord Strafford. The office was abolished on his death in 1861, and the Honourable the *Irish* (?) Society obtained possession of the fort and lands.

of them was the jealousy of Nial Garv towards the young stranger. An attempt made by this boisterous chief to quarter some of his kernes on the O'Doherties' Country was promptly resisted by the foster brothers. To admit the right of Nial Garv to cress his men on Innisowen would be to acknowledge him the supreme chieftain of it. Both parties appealed to Sir Henry; and in the interview his calm good sense and sound judgment stand out in strong relief to the overbearing insolence and passionate language of the Celtic chieftain. Dissatisfied with the decision of the Governor against his unreasonable demands, Nial Garv appealed to the Lord Deputy and Council in Dublin; they confirmed the judgment of Sir Henry, at the same time holding out a promise that at some future day Nial Garv's claims might be taken into consideration, but that at present "O Doughertye must and should be exempted from him: which hee [Nial Garv] took with a great deal more indignation and furie than became a man that was to raise his fortune onelie by the favour of another."

Being thus relieved from all dread of attack from the clans in his immediate neighbourhood, and the spring now coming on, Sir Henry Docwra made a foray from Derry; or, to use his own words, "drew forth, and made a *journey* upon Mac Swyne of Fanaght, whose countie lyes divided from O'Doghertie's by a bay of the sea." This bay of the sea was Lough Swilly, and to reach it the English force had to pass through Innisowen, which they dare not have attempted to do but for the friendly aid of the O'Doherties, a strong party of whom, headed by the young chief and Phelim Reagh, accompanied the expedition. On reaching Inch, where there was a castle of Sir Cahir's, they embarked in boats, and, crossing over Lough Swilly to Rathmullin, dashed at once into the Fannit glens. They took the unfortunate Mac Sweeneys by surprise, and seized about 1000 head of cattle before they could remove them. Thunderstruck by this onslaught, Mac Sweeney came himself to Sir Henry, and offered to make his submission to the Queen, and used the mediation of O'Doherty and Phelim Reagh that the cattle might be restored to his people—whereupon,

"After much entreatie and importunitie, and thinking with myselfe it might be a good example to such others as I should afterwards have occasion to deal with *that I sought not their goods but their obedience* (reserving a part onelie for reward of the souldiers labor), I was entreated, and gave back the rest."

A wise and generous resolve on the part of the English commander, to which it is not improbable that the difficulty of swimming a thousand head of cattle, across some three miles of a salt-water lake may have added a strong inducement. However,

be that as it may, Sir Henry received Mac Sweeney into submission, and taking his oath for future fidelity, and six hostages (one of them the chief's son) as a further guarantee, returned to Derry, leaving Captain Ralph Bingley, with his company of 150 men, as a garrison in the abbey of Rathmullen, to guard the landing-place there in case of a future raid into the north-west of Donegal.

Unfortunately for himself, the chief of the Mac Sweeneys proved false of faith, and broke his oath. Not long after,

“*Without compulsion* [as Sir Henry sternly writes], he made his reconciliation with O'Donnell, and underhand promised to betray the garrison that lay upon him, and secretlie wrought to gett his pledges out of my hand; but fayling in both, and yet resolved to go on his course, drove away all his cattle, and declared himself an enemy against us.”

Whereupon Sir Henry, with all the unbending severity of a Draco, hung up the hostages, and made another “*journey*” into Fannit in the September following, burnt and destroyed the houses and corn there, until the crushed and unfortunate chieftain came in and again submitted, and gave once more six hostages; and, taught by the terrible lesson he had learned, “from that forward continued in good subjection.”

In the month of April, 1601, the indefatigable Governor made another “*journey*” in an opposite direction from the last. On this occasion, accompanied by Nial Garv, he made a foray on the people of Sleughart, in the county of Tyrone, and by the assistance of his Irish ally had the strong fortress of Castledearg (the ruins of which still remain) delivered into his hands. Leaving there Captain Dutton in garrison, with his company of 100 men, Sir Henry returns to Derry, and makes the following significant entry in his narrative:—“And then wee rested at home, in expectation of a supplie of men from England against summer; *for nowe were those wee had exceedingly wasted and decayed.*”

Apparently, O'Donnell was as well aware as Sir Henry himself of the weakened condition of the English garrison, and had determined to avail himself of it, for the purpose of making an incursion into Innisowen to punish the O'Doherties for their desertion from the Irish cause, as well as to retaliate the burnings and the plunderings that they had inflicted, in conjunction with the clan Derry, on the unfortunate natives of Fannit. Of this intention, however, a timely notice was brought to the Governor of the castle on the Foyle; and while O'Donnell was making his preparations for attacking Innisowen, the English commander was as busy arranging matters for its defence. The manner in which he effected this proves Sir Henry Docwra to have been thoroughly skilled in military strategy. After examining a map of the country, he found it so utterly worthless that he flung it aside, and trusted to his own

personal observations for suiting the defence according to the nature of the locality. He found that the southern border of Innisowen stretched between Lough Swilly and the River Foyle in distance about six miles; that this tract was in a manner all bog, with a river passing through from one side to the other, and was totally impassable for horse, and only at some five or six narrow fords passable for small parties of foot. The position was evidently a strong one, and he took his measures accordingly. Placing in Coelmac-katren Castle, at one end of this tract of bog and swamp, where it touched Lough Swilly, Captain Thomas Badly with his company, and at the other extremity, where it met the River Foyle, Captain Edmond Leigh, with his company, in an old fort called Cargan (Carrigán), he erected small forts (not unlikely *crannoges*, or *wooden ones*), at each of the fords, and placed in them small garrisons of twenty men. Having thus secured his line of defence, he caused the hostages he had in pledge, and all the cattle of the country, about 3000 in number, and “goodes of the people,” to be removed to a remote part of Innisowen (called by Abbé M’Geoghegan—Binnin), wherein Hugh Boye, and Phelim Reagh, and the O’Doherties, assisted by 200 of the English force under Captain Humphrey Willis, had engaged to defend them.

All things being thus prepared, Sir Henry awaited the attack. When O’Donnell, with his army, came and encamped within a mile of Carragans, the Irish leader saw the position was too strong to be forced by ordinary means. He remained therefore at Carragans a week, reconnoitering the passes, during which time he caused a number of strong wicker hurdles to be made, and in the night time had them conveyed to a place out of reach of the forts; and on the morning of the 7th May, 1601, passed with all his horse and foot over the swamps, by means of those hurdles, to the great joy of the Irish, and chagrin of the English forces.

Those feelings were soon relatively changed. As the Creaghadors of the Kinel Connell advanced further into Innisowen, they found it a wilderness—its villages and fields deserted, its homesteads, glens, and hill sides, destitute of any trace of human or animal life; it was only when they reached the “extremity of the country” that they saw signs of either. Here they found the united force of the English and Irish drawn up in a strong position, with their herds of cattle feeding behind them. Sir Henry describes the locality as at the further end of Innisowen towards Scotland, where a piece of ground was environed with sea, able to support the cattle for some days, the entrance to it narrow, with an old fort standing on it guarding the approach. Making an allowance for a slight error in Sir Henry’s topography those local marks can be found in the Isle of Doagh, in the parish of Clonmany, in the vicinity of the small village of Gaddyduff, in the northern part of Innisowen.

Standing there, even at the present day, the tourist will see at a glance that a few hundred resolute men might hold the pass against a far superior force. On reaching the spot, O'Donnell halted and encamped, made an assault and was repulsed ; on the next day made another attack and was again beaten back, with a loss of forty men ; and then, in the words of the narrative,

“ O'Donnill, out of hope that he could doe good, trussed up baggage and, not one cove the ritcher, made his retreat back again. Going out he passed by the castle of Ard Coel Mac Katran upon the strands, at a dead low water, where our men had a little skirmish with him under succor of the castle, and where I stood with some few horse and foot to see what countenance he had in his departure. Being cleane past, I saw his men draw into battaile, and I think that no man that saw them, as well as I, but will confess they were not fewer than 1500. *Phelim Reagh in this assault behaved himselfe bravely with his own hands; Hugh Boy honestlie acquitted himself in all this occasion; and both of them gave sufficient testimoneye their hearts were at that time faithfull and zealous to the Queene's service.*”

A great day this for the united forces of clan Derry and clan Innisowen, and great rejoicing, in the strong castle on the Foyle, at the discomfiture of the Kinel Connell—rejoicings which were much increased by the following news:—“The very same day they [the Irish army] past away by Coelmackatren, the shippes were discovered at the mouth of Lough Foile, that brought us a new supply of 800 men.”

This (although not admitted by the English commander) at once explains the retreat of O'Donnell. In truth the Irish leader had a narrow escape. Had not his scouts brought him word of the approach of the English fleet, and had he therefore, in ignorance, delayed but two days longer at Binnin, his whole army must have been taken prisoners ; for, with the victorious O'Doherties and the English force under Captain Willis on his flank, and Sir Henry Docwra with the garrison of Derry reinforced by 800 men posted behind the belt of bog and swamp in his front, with Lough Swilly on his right, and Lough Foyle on his left, there was no outlet for him to escape by ; and when, in addition to these circumstances, the impossibility of obtaining food for his troops in Innisowen is added, the situation from which Hugh Roe O'Donnell extricated himself by a prompt retreat, will be at once admitted was one of absolute danger, and involving almost certain destruction to the force under his command.

From the foregoing passage of arms, and other events detailed in the narrative, it is evident that Hugh Roe O'Donnell was the great opponent with whom Sir Henry Docwra had to contend. Yet the struggle between these two master spirits was not an equal one, so far as regards their antecedents, their individual experience in military affairs, and the resources, troops, and munitions of war, each

had to aid him in the contest. It must not be forgotten that Sir Henry Docwra was an experienced captain, trained in Continental wars, a bearded man with harness on his back, while O'Donnell was yet a child; nor can it be overlooked that the young chieftain of Tyrconnell at the age of fifteen years was vilely kidnapped, and conveyed to the tower in Dublin, where for upwards of four years he was kept a prisoner—during the last twelve months of the period a fettered one. At such an age, and under such treatment, except bitter and enduring hostility towards the English race, what could he learn? That during those weary years the young captive deeply reflected on his own wrongs and on those of his country, and that there in the silence of his cell he arranged his plans for avenging both, is more than probable. His after career fully proves the supposition. For, when at last he effected his escape, and after reaching Donegal was elected head of the Kinel Connell at the early age of nineteen, so soon as the free air of his native hills had restored to his wasted frame health and vigour, he allied himself with Hugh Earl of Tyrone, and in a short time became the ablest and most sagacious leader the Irish ever had. During nine years he kept the whole force of England at bay, baffling or beating back every general she sent to oppose him, and subduing or winning over to the national cause every Irish chief with whom he came in contact,—accomplishing this, moreover, with the scanty aids a broken and impoverished race could supply,—thus earning, as Moore appropriately remarks, a name which not only graces his country's history, but still lives freshly in the popular tales of her romance.

On the other hand, Sir Henry Docwra was bred to arms. In 1585 he served with Sir Richard Bingham in the west; and from that date to 1594, when for his distinguished conduct he was made Constable of Dungarvan, he appears to have been constantly and actively employed in the Irish wars. He served with the Earl of Essex in Spain and the Netherlands, where he commanded a regiment, and likewise in Ireland; and was so highly esteemed by him, that when that gallant and unfortunate nobleman made his impetuous return to England in 1599, Sir Henry Docwra was one of the few faithful friends who accompanied him. It will thus be seen that he was a veteran soldier, and that both abroad and at home, in fort and field, in camp and foray, he had acquired that consummate skill and judgment in military affairs which made him conspicuous among those able officers who, during the reign of Elizabeth, commanded the English forces in Ireland.

Not the least of the praise which is honestly due to the young Irish leader arises from the skill with which he cooped up so able a veteran as Sir Henry Docwra, with 4000 trained soldiers at his back, on the shores of the Foyle,—accompanying this, moreover, with inadequate means and undisciplined troops, yet with a system



of tactics so sound in theory and so efficient in practice, that but for the treachery of Nial Garv, and the desertion of the other Irish chiefs, the English expedition, wasted by famine and weakened by sickness and by warfare, must inevitably a second time have deserted the ramparts of Derry.

But this was not to be. With the seaboard of the Foyle open to Sir Henry, through which he received supplies of troops and provisions from England—with Sir Tirlogh Lynogh, the Queen's O'Neill, and his followers, affording information about the forests and passes in Tyrowen, with Nial Garv and his party guiding the English forces through the hills and glens of Donegal, and rendering good service against their own kindred, with a body of light armed troops skilled in the warfare of the country, and with the clans of Innisowen in alliance with the garrison of Derry; the English commander must, to a certainty, win the prize for which he was playing with so much caution and so much boldness. It remains only to note the skill with which he proceeded to con over his game, and to arrange his men—how he himself never made a false move, nor allowed a weak one of his adversaries to escape—how one by one he broke up the strong points of his opponent, without endangering his own, until at last, by a series of masterly combinations, he arose a victor from the contest.

The two great objects of the English general, differing in detail, in principle were identical. His first was to plant a military settlement in Derry; his second, another similar at Ballyshannon. The first he had accomplished. For the second there were three modes of action:—To embark a sufficient force by sea—but for this he had now neither men, transports, nor ships. To send an army by land was equally impracticable, the nature of the district to be traversed swarming with enemies, and the difficulty of obtaining food on the march, were serious, almost insurmountable obstacles. The pass of Barnsmore, through which the English force must of necessity advance, would alone deter any prudent general from the attempt. A third plan, slow in detail, but certain in result, remained; and this, although subsequent events rendered its complete carrying out unnecessary, Sir Henry tacitly adopted, namely, to connect Lough Foyle with Lough Erne by a chain of forts, and, on reaching Enniskillen, to embark a force on the lake, proceed by water to its lower extremity, and, landing at Belleek, march from thence to Ballyshannon, a distance of only three miles.

Bearing this plan in view, it will explain the proceedings of the English general, almost from the moment when he laid the foundations of the walls of Derry. His first step was to erect a fort at Dunnaalong, on the Foyle, five miles from Derry; his next, to secure the castle at Lifford, also on the river Foyle, ten miles higher up. Following the river line of the Mourne, which joins the Foyle

at Lifford, he then in May, 1601, got possession of the castle of Newtown (Newtownstewart), and placed in it Captain Roger Atkinson, with a garrison of 100 men.

“And because the uses wee intended these garrisons was to make suddaine inroades upon the countrey, to spoyle and pray them of their cattle, *and that impossible to be done without intelligence and guidance of some of the natives*, I left to assist him in that kinde one Tirlough Moynylson, a man that came in with Sir Arthur O’Neale, that had often guided our men before in like services, and had gayned a great deale of love and reputation among us, and had now the command of 100 Irish by my Lord Deputie’s allowance.”

Notwithstanding the “love and reputation” that the said Tirlough had gained, Sir Henry with due caution gave “speciall charge he should be lodged cleane outside the bawn, and a wary and circumspect eye should be carried upon him”!—a provident precaution on the part of the shrewd northern knight, which subsequent events proved was necessary in regard of the Celtic centurion. Sir Henry had now a chain of forts extending twenty-six miles, almost in a direct line, along the valley of the Foyle, towards Enniskillen, in the very heart of the enemy’s country.

On the 20th June, 1601, he battered with the “Demy cannon” the castle of Aniogh, within two miles of Derry. This castle lies altogether in another direction from Newtown, and was situated in a loch in the O’Cahan’s Country, nearly opposite Derry. While engaged in taking it, Sir Henry received letters from the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, “propounding by way of discourse two mayne services to spend the summer,” namely, either to take Ballyshannon, or to meet the Deputy at the Blackwater. Sir Henry decided on the latter, and, fearing that a great deal of powder had been spent in taking the castles we have named,

“I first called,” he writes, “the clarke of the munition to mee, and asked him *how he was stoored of powder?* He tould mee hee had 60 barrells. I was fully satisfied in my minde. I enquired noe further, but returned my answer [to Lord Mountjoy], in any part of Tyrone I should be readie to meet him, wheresoever he pleased.”

Now occurs a serio-comic episode, which proves that sparseness of speech and sturdy independence were as characteristic of the Englishman of the seventeenth as of the nineteenth century. Our Yorkshire friends will, we dare say, recognise the phonetic propriety of the colloquy on the occasion.

On the 19th of July Sir Henry had received two letters from Dublin, which, although dated 9th and 14th July, reached him on the same day. In the first he was requested to prepare to meet the Deputy at the Blackwater; in the second he was desired to march at once, as his Lordship was waiting for him—whereupon,

"I presentlie gave order the companies should draw to Lifford, and come furnished with munition. Word was brought mee *that they could get no match!* I called for the clarke, and asked him the reason. *Hee tould mee hee had it not!* Noe (says I) *did yow not tell mee the other day yow had 60 barrells?* I tould yow (saide hee) *that I had 60 barrells of powder, and soe I had, but of match yow asked mee nothing.* I demanded if a barrell of match were not always sent as a due proportion to a barrell of powder; hee confest it was, and ought to be so; but much of that came (he saide) was rotten, and much had been wasted, soe as now hee had it not. I asked him *why he tould me not so much when I spake of it the other day; hee said, because my question was of powder onelie, and nothing of match."*

This was undoubtedly true, and clearly gave the stout clerk of the munition the best of the argument. Yet, although critically correct, the dilemma in which he placed the Governor by the scant information of his previous reply was an awkward one. When we recollect that, forty-nine years afterwards, in the year of grace 1650, the Scotch army under General Lesley, amounting to 23,000 men, was beaten, or, as Carlyle has it, "shivered to ruin," at Dunbar by 12,000 men, wasted with sickness, under Cromwell; that 3000 of the Scotch troops were slain; that their whole baggage and train, all their artillery great and small, 30 guns, and 200 colours, taken, and 10,000 soldiers (in number actually nearly equal to their victors) made prisoners, and that this tremendous defeat was accounted for by the fact that Cromwell, keeping not only his "*powder dry,*" but likewise his "*matches lit,*" had attacked Lesley early in the morning of a wet and windy September day, when the matches of the Scottish foot (all but two to each company) were extinguished; and that, in despite of a gallant resistance made by their horse, who charged desperately, and drove back the English across the rivulet, the foot, "poor stiffened men," roused from their sleep, "*with their matches out,*" never rallied, or for a moment stood before the fiery charge of Cromwell, we can form some idea of the unpleasant position in which Sir Henry now found himself placed.

He acted with his usual prudence. Having made Captain Humphrey Covert, who was going to England, a witness to his conversation with the clerk of munition, in order that he might be able to report the matter truely on the other side, he directed the clerk to send to the neighbouring garrisons for any match they could spare. When this was done, six barrels only were collected. Sir Henry then called a council of war of his "ancientest of the captaines" and laid the matter before them; they unanimously gave it as their opinion in writing, signed with their hands, that this supply was too little to go forth with—

"For they knew O'Donnell and all the country thereabouts were alreadie assembled to attend us, and by all likelihood would provoke us to skirmish by the way; and it was better to incur any censure of the world

whatsoever than to expose soe many men to be a butt onelie for their Enymyes to shoot at."

Fortified by this resolution, the Governor sent Lieutenant Gordon to the Lord Deputy with letters explanatory of this untoward circumstance, desiring suspension of judgment, and offering to meet his Lordship at any place he might at another time appoint. The answer of Lord Mountjoy was characteristically short, sharp, and decisive, and, taking into account the bitter enmity he bore to Sir Henry Docwra a fair one:—

"Your wants thus [wrote his Lordship], are small in shewe, in substance great; how this will be taken in England, that you made them not known before the instant when it was impossible to supply them it beoves you to looke unto; for me, I must confess you have much deceived my expectation, but I will not advise you to doe any thinge with the Queen's army that is not warrantable by good reason, neither trust upon mee to help you here, for I am not able; but, if you cane, take some other opportunitie of service to make amends withall."

A sharp censure, but we must admit a deserved one. Assuredly, if the clerk of the munition slept soundly on the night of the day it was received by the Governor, it may be doubted whether his slumbers can be justly attributed to the prayers that were then offered up in the castle of Derry for his repose.

In the mean time, O'Donnell, with the O'Cahans and the O'Neills, had drawn together near Newtown, with the intention of attacking Sir Henry Docwra on his march to join the Lord Deputy. But while awaiting the English forces at the fords of the Mourne, the Irish chieftains had left the country behind them, and especially the Pass of Barnsmore, unguarded,—an oversight the keen eye of the veteran commander on the Foyle at once detected. Consulting with Nial Garv, who had a thorough knowledge of the paths, and having ascertained that the abbey of Donegal was held only by a few friars, he sent the Irish chieftain with his troops and 500 English soldiers to take possession of it. This important service was safely and promptly executed by Nial Garv on the 2nd of August, 1601. Thus the blunder of the clerk of munition, through the able management of the English general, in place of a mishap, became an element of success. On hearing this, O'Donnell, who had in the mean time crossed the Curlew Mountains into Sligo, to keep the Earl of Clanricard with his army in check, hurried back, and at once laid siege to the abbey, and for thirty days the place was hotly assaulted, and as stoutly defended. On the night of the 19th September the abbey took fire, and was burned, all to one corner. But even then, with unflinching tenacity, Nial Garv and the garrison held out. In the middle of the burning cloisters, and

actually through the flames they removed their stores of provisions and barrels of powder; and while one part of the force was employed in this perilous duty, the other repelled the attacks of the Irish, who with loud shouts advanced to the assault. Used as he was to the horrors of war, Sir Henry Docwra appears to have regarded with feelings of admiration the gallant conduct of the garrison during that fearful night, in which it is recorded that they lost 300 men. On the next day O'Donnell summoned the defenders of the Abbey to surrender; but, having first dispatched a light-footed kern to tell Sir Henry of their hazardous condition, they climbed the smoking walls, and "valentlie repelled" the envoy of the Irish chieftain. Fickle and false as he was, there was no braver man than Nial Garv. To this Sir Henry Docwra, with the honest candour of his nature, bears witness in the following :—

"Here againe, I must confess, Neale Garvy behaved himselfe deservinglie; for though I had at that time many informations against him that could not but breed some jealousies of his fidelitie, yet wee sawe he continued to the last, tooke such part as our men did, had many of his men slaine at this seige, and amongst the rest a brother of his own."

Misfortunes never come single: along with the tidings of the hazardous position of the English force in the abbey of Donegal came the news that the fort at Newtown was betrayed by Tirlogh Magnylson, the Irish ally whom, we have already mentioned, Sir Henry had directed to be lodged with his men "cleane outside the bawne." Neglecting the warning of his superior officer, Captain Atkinson was enticed "to walk forth upon the greene before the house purposelie as far as he could" by the faithless Tirlogh, who had that day dined with the English officer. On a signal, Captain Atkinson was made prisoner, and by a sudden rush at the castle door the Irish gained possession, and put every man of the garrison to the sword—a foul deed, for which, shortly after, Tirlogh Magnylson met a suitable punishment.

But, as if these disasters were not sufficient, in like manner, and on the same day, Captain Dutton was betrayed at Castledearg, but with this exception, that the lives of the English garrison were spared.

"For those losses [Sir Henry calmly observes] there were no remedy for the present: for Dunnegal, I had before sent them provisions by sea, which came to them in a reasinable time, and had supplied most of their wants; for the rest, I could doe nothing but encourage them to hould it, and assured them to come to their aide, soe soone as they should stand in neede of it.

*(To be continued.)*

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